THE COMMONWEAL

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THE GENERAL STRIKE

WHETHER the general strike in San Francisco, and in Portland, Oregon, which was to follow that in San Francisco, will develop into the great disaster that all the signs portend as we go to press, or whether even at the eleventh hour the catastrophe will be checked, the fact remains that a danger signal has flared, revealing the true nature of the deadliest peril among the many perils now confronted by our people. That peril is nothing other than the threat of class war. Not only in San Francisco, but in Portland, Oregon, where also a general strike has been ordered, and in Minneapolis, and in Alabama, among the textile workers, strikes are on, or are being prepared, which indicate that labor is moving rapidly toward a far more drastic type of action than even the biggest of separate strikes, grave as any strike always is. It is even more serious than a sympathetic strike—the aid given by one or more unions not directly involved in a controversy to the union which first strikes in order to aid it win its victory. For ordinarily the sympathetic strike is confined to a strictly limited objective. But now, in San Francisco, and many other places, the issue is far more fundamental. New labor leaders are appearing, backed by formidable and enthusiastic organizers, thrusting aside or overriding the older, more conservative type of craft union leader, and proclaiming the solidarity of all workers, and their power to win by themselves those rights and benefits which they claim to be their due.

Many accusations are being made not only by the employers involved in the Pacific Coast strife, but also by newspapers and by public officials, that Communists, organized revolutionists, are mainly responsible for bringing on the general strike. And it is probably quite true that Communists and other advocates of violent revolution are actively fomenting the present strife. On the other hand, it should be remembered that if there is a violently Left wing, a revolutionary element, at work, there also undoubtedly is an extremely radical Right wing element, and a very powerful one, among the employers, and the associations of employers, who are as strongly determined to smash all types of organized union labor as are the Left determined to smash what it regards

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as the dominant power of the capitalist class. Both these elements are responsible for bringing the nation face to face with the peril of the class war.

When President Roosevelt appointed the National Longshoreman's Board, of which Archbishop Hanna, of San Francisco, is the chairman, he instructed that board to arbitrate the matters at issue between the Employers' Association and the unions—if the contending factions requested such action. As the San Francisco *Monitor,* the official organ of Archbishop Hanna, states the case, "the highest authority in the nation has given to the National Longshoremen's Board its own authority as peacemakers," but that authority was not mandatory. There is no law, federal or state, making arbitration compulsory. Neither the employers or the workers showed a willingness to submit their cases to arbitration. "The recalcitrance of contending factions," is the explanation given by the *Monitor* for the failure of the repeated efforts made by the board to bring the dispute to a settlement at the council table.

When Pope Pius XI discussed the evil results of the World War, in his encyclical letter of December, 1922, he said: "In the first place must be put that 'class warfare' which has penetrated among the nations like a deadly infection, poisoning work, the arts, commerce, everything, in fact, that tends to private and public well-being. And the evil is made worse by the increasing lust for material goods on the one side, tenacity in holding them on the other, on both sides desire for possession and power. Thence come frequent strikes and lockouts, public disturbance and repression, damage and discontent for all." That the Pope is right in placing the class war first among all the social evils of our times is manifestly true. The revolutions in Russia, Italy, Germany and Spain, and the desperate conditions of society in nearly all other countries, were produced by the class war primarily. Are we to witness the growth of this evil thing in the United States?

The general strike in San Francisco may be the answer. A special dispatch to the New York *Times,* on the day before the strike was ordered, said that newspaper correspondents from all parts of the nation were beginning to arrive "and went at their work in the same manner as war correspondents." No doubt the writer of that dispatch was simply trying to use dramatic, highly colored phrases, as he went on to describe how the "war correspondents" were being "supplied with special insignia and credentials to allow their movements within troop lines," but he may be writing the grim truth unconsciously. For if organized labor and organized employers both allow themselves to be controlled and led by their "recalcitrant factions," and refuse the voluntary arbitration which is the only reasonable method to settle their disputes, the cleavage between the classes will split the country into warring camps, and we shall have war, indeed, the worst of all wars—civil and fratricidal.

It is certain, we think, that no matter what provocation may have been offered at San Francisco by the obstinacy or selfishness of any of the employers, the unions have placed themselves badly in the wrong by permitting their own reckless leaders to declare the general strike. That deadly weapon strikes too blindly and too unjustly at wholly innocent people to be legitimately used, and its employment will in the long run harm the unions more than the employers' associations. It may be that, even before it can bring about the disastrous results which are certain to follow its use, it will break down, or be halted. There may even be mutual concessions on both sides which will afford grounds for a non-violent settlement. But even if this should occur, the country has been warned of the deadly danger which underlies all its discontents and miseries. That warning should be heeded. Great labor disputes must not be allowed to proceed between organized labor and organized employers without regard to the common welfare of society as a whole. The general strike is unwarranted. It should be unequivocally outlawed. Nor should employers be permitted to refuse to submit their claims, in any grave dispute, to a state or federal board, or court, of arbitration. The class war is nothing but plain anarchy. The constituted authority of the whole people should have the power—as unquestionably it has the right—to bring both sides before it for reasonable arbitrament of their quarrels.

WEEK BY WEEK

The Trend of Events

RISING very like a storm, the mass indignation of San Francisco workers had virtually blotted all else from the American sky as the week of July 15 commenced. This "general strike," tying up a great city as no other in this country has been tied up before excepting in times of war or natural catastrophe, has served to make one fact very clear. There is a real difference between the present temper of the West and that of the East. Government speakers, appearing in various places, found—as Secretary Wallace put it—a demand for more regimentation than Washington was in a position to enforce. The East, generally speaking, is in no such mood. Perhaps the more settled character and "traditionalism" of enterprise in New England and elsewhere up and down the Atlantic coast explains the difference in part. By and large, however, the West has a memory of the spirit of "direct action" which, having loomed large in the history of several troubled decades,

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seems again the way out of social difficulty. It is no exaggeration to say that as the nation watched with great earnestness the progress of the struggle in San Francisco, it also meditated on the variety of regional and other variations which prove both the vastness of the United States and the exceedingly great complexity of the problems and relations with which government must deal. The drift toward centralization seems inevitable, considering the status of the country's psychology, and still it is apparent that the said drift may raise bigger questions than it answers.

Raiding Hollywood

ELSEWHERE in this issue there is a summary of recent occurrences in the fight for cleaner movies. We surmise that there is genuine probability of improvement in the near future, the shake-up having made itself felt throughout the industry. It is generally taken for granted that the Catholic bishops will find countless allies in all sections of the population. Better evidence of this important fact could not be found than recent activities by a number of Jewish agencies. During the past week, Jewish newspapers throughout the country have carried editorials urging endorsement of the crusade and saying: "The duty of Jews goes beyond that of other citizens. They are faced with the double task of protesting against the movies because of their immoral influence and of objecting to them because of their surrender of Jewish ideals." The Synagogue Council of America, of which the Rabbi David Philipson is chairman, is expected to issue a statement shortly on behalf of the major religious bodies of all denominations in American Jewry. Therewith the ring around the offending cinema is complete. Naturally it will not be easy to determine in unison what kind of movie is desired, but in view of the fact that the crusade is not trying to establish censorship but to bring pressure to bear upon the producers themselves, the effect of the movement will doubtless be confined primarily to ridding the screen of blatant indecencies.

The Hitler Speech

HITLERISM once had a future; it now possesses only a past. That is the conclusion to be drawn from the extraordinary address which the German Chancellor delivered to the world on July 13. He offered no explanation of the astounding incidents which had led to wholesale murder. Indeed, he did not even give a clear and full account of what had happened. The point which he stressed with a singular lack of taste and tactfulness was his break with Captain Roehm—a man to whom he owes everything he has become, and upon whose memory he did not hesitate to cast every stone at his command. Of course it was undoubtedly a good thing for Germany that the break came, nor was Roehm an innocent darling. But what shall be said of the supreme officer of the great German people, who compromises the material and moral character of his nation because of a private "party" quarrel which he himself helped to create and which he could not settle except through recourse to murder? For this—for nothing more than this—Hitler was willing to persuade the world that Germany had become a place where law is the will of a despot, where the material and spiritual welfare of millions can be subordinated to a "philosophy of the state," and where relations with other nations are based on rumors of conspiracies and "plots." Louis XIV said that he was the state, but he never for a moment thought of making the crazy assertion that he was France. Hitler, declaring that the decision of January, 1933, was irrevocable, that his will superseded courts and legitimate rights, that the people would eat horse-meat or worse if his power were possible on no other basis, that the nation was "a division," that opposition of whatever sort would mean certain death, not only made himself Germany but rendered the name "German," proudly borne by generations of noble men and women, a title no decent human being anywhere else on earth would wish to bear.

Specially the Spiritual

THE NEWEST of the book clubs is the Spiritual Book Associates. This has been formed under the auspices of the Catholic Book Club and conforms to the general type of such associations in having a distinguished board of editors and assuring its members of substantial savings on the total number of books they will receive throughout the year. As the name of the new group implies, the books selected will be exclusively devotional religious works, a field which the Catholic Book Club purposely avoids in its pursuit of general, or secular, literature of merit and timeliness. The board of editors is composed of the Right Reverend Monsignor Joseph H. McMahon, the Right Reverend Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen, the Reverend Francis X. Talbot, S. J., the Reverend Mother Grace Dammann, R. S. C. J., the Reverend Sister Mary Rosa and the Honorable Thomas F. Meehan. The Reverend Francis X. Downey, S. J., formerly Dean of Holy Cross College, will be the editorial secretary and editor of a monthly review of current devotional literature, the *Survey*. Sterns Cunningham, treasurer of the Catholic Book Club, will be president and treasurer of the Spiritual Book Associates, and Alastair Guinan, corresponding secretary and assistant editor of the *Survey*. The latter publication, which will be sent to members of the Spiritual Book Associates,

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will among its other features attempt a review of current periodical literature. The experience and character of the working staff of the Associates assures that the enterprise will be well and vigorously directed. The many Catholic families besides the clergy and superiors of various communities and institutions, who wish to have good Catholic spiritual reading delivered at the door every month and the advantages of such competent guidance as the board of editors can provide, will no doubt find the new association much to their liking and profit.

What Is Permanent?

THE *Saturday Review of Literature* has indulged in an innocent but pointed controversy about the distribution of books. Is there not a difference, queried the editor, between "literature that lives" and books which are written to flutter for an hour? If so, publishers and dealers—in whose hands the very important matter of dissemination lies—ought surely to distinguish between the two and plan selling campaigns accordingly. No doubt one part of the growing aversion to home libraries is due to the fact that neither father, mother nor daughter has any use for nine-tenths of the volumes accumulated. These are mystery stories the plots of which are all too familiar, or love yarns in which the course of the passion has been plotted out long ago. If—so runs the argument—such literature were sold or loaned frankly on its merits, the public might be encouraged to collect reading matter proof against the ravages of two weeks hence. At first the dealers were inclined to grumble at what they considered an attack on their merits. But gradually assent has been given to the idea, the sole query remaining being limited to method. Who is to define the "literature that lives"? Emerson and others fancied that one ought not to confer longevity upon books which have not run the gauntlet of at least a hundred years. Yet even this test is not infallible. Books have survived a century or two, only then to lose their appeal for any but a few. To be sure, an approximate guess might be useful—if there were any prospect of relative unanimity among the guessers.

Depression Story

A MINOR glory of the hard period from which it may be hoped we are emerging has been the courage and resourcefulness of some of the people who were hardest hit. Quiet middle-class people, for instance, with the social status which registers disaster most quickly, and without the reserve means to avert disaster, have in many cases met and overcome it by miracles of adaptation and stamina. Their stories are not often chronicled, for they are obscure and not in the obvious sense dramatic; but all of us know such families. The wife and mother of one of them tells its history in the *Herald Tribune* magazine, a history well worth reading. She resents the description of the white-collar group as "the most pitiable cases," for she and her college-trained husband have brought themselves and their two children through three years of professional joblessness. After failing at the more obvious white-collar expedients—selling books, peddling insurance and so on—they turned to and did what they really could do. She hooked rugs; he gardened, painted, renovated, carpentered. Sometimes they worked for money, sometimes for barter: rugs, for instance, and a restored antique cabinet, paid for their little girl's tonsilectomy. Now the knowledge that they can stand on their feet in a rocking universe, has given them a pride and sufficiency unknown before. The husband has made a permanent job for himself—not a white-collar job, and not paying more than half of their former income; but they have learned to use money, to trust themselves, to live within themselves. A task well done!

Pan Is Dead

AMONG the many profound observations in "The Everlasting Man" is one to this effect: that the coming of Christ killed mythology forever. How true that is one knows from mere history; but one has an independent realization of it all over again in reading such news items as those detailing the rose ceremony recently substituted for baptism in the Humanist Church, and the wedding rite just celebrated among the current crop of pantheists in Germany. We do not know that the clergyman actually invoked a rose deity in the solemn initiatory ritual which he held over the infant, but his performance is so essentially an attempt to recapture the mood of mythology that it may fairly be cited. The Christian pours water because he believes in original sin and sanctifying grace. The Humanist Church member pours rose petals because he doesn't. He offers a charming and poetic substitute for belief, for he vaguely feels that the occasion calls for something. So, too, mythology was a poetic substitute for belief; only, today, the childish vagueness and innocence of mind which could offer it as a substitute has been driven out of men. It has been driven out by belief. That, in turn, can be driven out by unbelief—an equally definite thing; it can never be driven out by rose petals. The mood of half-pretense is over. The point is even clearer in the Germanic Faith wedding ceremony, wherein Mother Earth and Father Heaven were invoked to bless the nuptials. It is not merely that there is no Mother Earth, nor Father Heaven. It is rather that not one of the parties involved believes that there is.

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LONG LIVES THE DEVIL

By CHARLES WILLIS THOMPSON

Surveying the achievements of "repeal," Mr. Thompson finds that words of truth have come from the lips of Mr. F. Scott McBride. The situation is "as bad as it was under prohibition, with some iniquitous additions." Responsibility for failure rests on the control boards, says Mr. Thompson, which are too open to the seductive whispers of "interests." While we are not in agreement with all statements made in this paper, we feel that the subject is important enough to merit discussion.—The Editors.

SELDOM has one the doubtful pleasure of enthusiastically endorsing anything said by F. Scott McBride, General Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League. Mr. McBride still believes and always will believe in the only experiment ever made by the United States in what was both ridiculous and vicious, the Eighteenth Amendment. We have had experiments of each kind, but that remains as the only combination of the two. But in his recent statement, which is as prohibitionist as ever, Mr. McBride speaks incidental words of truth that have been fairly shrieking for someone to say them. Intelligent wets have been as dumb about them as fanatical drys, and this includes men like ex-Governor Smith, ex-Senator Wadsworth and Dr. Butler.

The occasion is meet for a statement of the liquor situation as it is today and of what led to it. It is more than meet, it is sinful to shirk it, for that situation is as bad as it can be. In other words, it is as bad as it was under prohibition, with some iniquitous additions, and far worse than it ever was under the old saloon which is so hypocritically disavowed by the wets and so ignorantly damned by the drys. For my qualifications to speak on this subject, I used to crook my elbow, and I know all the ins and outs of the old saloon. I am a total abstainer of many years' standing, at first by degrees, and then absolutely for so long a time as to make it as certain that I am a permanent teetotaler as that I am a Christian, a Catholic, or a man. But I am not so bigoted as to forswear in holy horror the acquaintance of Tim and Mike and Dinny, the honest fellows in the white aprons, even if they make nothing out of me but the price of a cigar or ginger ale; and I know from experience and observation the life of the saloon, whether it calls itself a speakeasy, a restaurant or any other masquerading name. A saloon by any other name will smell as rummy.

Now for the first bouquet for the momentarily right Mr. McBride. Says he: "The ignoble control experiment is tottering toward collapse." Golden words. The people voted last year for the repeal of that monstrous legislative abortion, prohibition, but they did not get it and have not got it. What they did get was the same old combination of crimes, now labeled "control." The various control boards have so manipulated their powers as to continue both the speakeasy and the bootlegger in full or fuller sway, and to add a few choice embroideries to the deviltries of 1920-1933. Mr. McBride mentions one or two, and I shall take them up in a moment, adding to his personal knowledge some things he does not know.

Why have the control boards done this, most certainly against the wishes of decent men who desire to sell liquor honestly? Because it is necessary, if the bootlegger is to continue rich and if the so-called speakeasy (by which word is meant the old saloon with the door locked) is to outrival the honest and aboveboard saloon-keeper. Why should the control boards desire such a result? Well, why does any governmental agency ever desire a masked and unnameable result? Generally because it can be reached. This word "reached" does not mean "bribed." Bribery is coarse. Anybody of sophomore age knows, however, that what was called "influoence" before ex-Mayor Hylan of New York popularized it under the name of "the interests" does not have to pass over any money to anybody. If the contact man of an "interest" is not sufficiently powerful, a word from the political boss is; and that does not mean a state or city boss, for a nod from the boss of an assembly district is as good as a wink from the head of the state machine. When one sees the control boards thus acting as if in concert for the thwarting of the people's will as expressed in forty-six states, and for the continued reign of the bootlegger and the continued thorniness in the path of the honest liquor-dealer and the legitimate consumer, he needs no array of legal proofs to convince him that the historic American way of putting something over has received a fresh illustration.

The ludicrously hurried changes in the regulations made by the control boards in their short existence, and the derangements for good or bad made in them by state legislatures, show Mr. McBride to be within the truth in saying that this experiment, as ridiculous as prohibition itself, is "tottering toward collapse." But the interests—in this case the illegal liquor interests—are resourceful, and when it collapses their high-priced lawyers will have some other device ready, equally sweet-sounding and reaching the same end.

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Mr. McBride says, "The saloon is back, with added evils, in New York." Not only in New York, but everywhere. It is not "back," for it never went away. It merely took down its sign and locked its door, and at first it scrutinized the customer who knocked to make sure he was not a Moe or Izzy, but that scrutiny became unnecessary after the first few years, and the stranger's password was something as simple as, "Oh, I'm all right. I live a few blocks from here." No more questions asked.

As for those added evils, Mr. McBride, being a prohibitionist, is not aware that most of them were added during the prohibition era he laments. The old saloon, when run, as it generally was, by an upright business man, confined its business to the bar, excluded women, excluded crooks. If it had a back room, that room was for the convenience of slow-drinking customers, and all of them were men. There were vicious and criminal saloon-keepers, as there are vicious and criminal men in every business, and they used back rooms as hangouts; but they were under police vigilance, and even a dishonest police captain was sure to be replaced in time by an honest one. So the lives of hangouts were short.

When the saloon changed its name to speakeasy, all that was done away with. The better class speakeasies still excluded crooks, but not many of them excluded women; and in the latter days of prohibition a sight was common that had never been seen before—women surging out of the back room into the common room, crooking their elbows on the bar, and drinking cheek by jowl with men. There was seen daily, too, a sight never before seen east of the Mississippi—police officers in full uniform, trooping in five or six together and ranging up at the bar for a round or so. The speakeasies being wholly out of police control, the unscrupulous ones existed mainly for the profit of crooks; and that included many of the garish night clubs. These were among the benefits of prohibition; and they still exist under the system of "control."

But Mr. McBride is right when he includes among the added evils of 1934 this one: "The 'cocktail hour' . . . is more perilous and ruinous to young women than the old-time treating custom ever was to young men." He is mistaken only in putting the treating custom in the past tense. It never vanished under prohibition; it has always been with us. It was and is perilous and ruinous only to men who would take the downward path without it; to men of self-government it was only an exchange of drinks and then a "See you tomorrow, Terry" to the bartender.

Denuding Mr. McBride's pregnant sentence of the comparison he makes, a comparison due to his pardonable personal ignorance, he is right, and one reason he gives, which does not comprise all the reasons he might have given, is an apple of gold and a picture of silver: "Employing the insistent influence of social custom to promote alcoholic habits—" The rest of the sentence need not be quoted, for as a true prohibitionist he lays the cocktail hour to the darksome machinations of big hotels. It is, on the contrary, one of the self-born fads of what used to be called "flaming youth." It does, however, as he says, promote alcoholic habits, and does more and far worse.

Make it fashionable to absorb cocktails at a certain hour whether one likes them or not, and you are laying the foundation for America's pet danger, the formation of habit. Mr. McBride quotes Governor Ely of Massachusetts as saying, "Unless our present record improves, the time is not far distant when it won't be safe for anyone to venture on our streets after the cocktail hour." Safe from women? Oh, no, from men; and that points to a factor in this wretched new fad which Mr. McBride's virginal innocence prevents him from suspecting.

"Bootleggers," says he, "have not disappeared with repeal." Why should they? The control boards have seen to that. Bootlegging, dear Mr. McBride, is a profitable industry. Why should anyone engaged in making money from it give it up when "regulations" have succeeded an unenforceable constitutional amendment and are aimed to continue its evils with a mere change of words? The old saloon, run by decent men, has appeared here and there, but under such restrictions that drinking men prefer the unmolested comfort of the untaxed speakeasy.

As things stand, the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment has made only one change of benefit. The speakeasy proprietors have unlocked their doors and put signs up; that is the net result. True, most of them put the word "Restaurant" on the sign, but that word is a joke of the comic-strip variety. Comic strips, to be more explicit, are a form of humor not notable for subtlety.

That all this and much more for which there is no space constitute a problem not only disgusting but dangerous is a fact too obvious for elucidation. It may be that when the historian enumerates the evils inflicted on this country by the twelve years' insane debauch of Volsteadism, he will climax his chapter by charging up against it the demoralization which made its repeal retain its evils and add others. But he will conclude the chapter with a record of the fact that the people did not endure them any longer than they endured the evils which brought them on, and he will give the year in which forty-six states—many of them still retaining their own dry laws—put an end to an intolerable situation, 1933; and the year in which they put an end to the evils impudently continued and added. That last-named year, however, will not be 1934.

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THE REPUBLICANS AT BAY

By OLIVER McKEE, JR.

FEW POPULAR verdicts in American political history have been more decisive than that of November, 1932, under which the Republican party, after twelve years of easy prosperity, was exiled into the wilderness. In this national vote against the depression, not only did Herbert C. Hoover go down to defeat as a one-term president, and his party lose control over the national administration, but the Democratic sweep extended so far that the Republican survivors in House and Senate have been too few in numbers to discharge the principal duty of the minority in a two-party system of government—that of providing an effective opposition.

Since March, 1933, when President Roosevelt and the New Dealers took command, the public has evidenced little interest in the affairs of the G.O.P. Attention has rather been focussed on recovery, and the economic and social reforms which President Roosevelt insists upon as an essential part of the recovery program. So Republican chiefs, in the first session of the Seventy-third Congress, acquiesced in most of the New Deal program, though, for purposes of the record, they entered a formal dissent to certain of Mr. Roosevelt's proposals. Their willingness that the President should be given a fairly free hand in reaching his objective, did not carry an approval of some of the methods used, nor an endorsement of much of the experimentation of the New Deal.

In mid-1934, the picture has changed. Privately critical of the Roosevelt policies from their inception, regular Republicans are now openly hostile to much that is going on in Washington. Many of them have boldly challenged the implications of the New Deal program as they bear on traditional principles of the American government, and the challenge becomes pointed and clear-cut in the declaration of policy adopted by the national committee at its Chicago meeting, when Henry P. Fletcher was chosen chairman to succeed Everett E. Sanders. That declaration presages, from this time on, a frontal Republican assault on the New Deal, and stout resistance, next winter, to proposals for making it permanent. The initial paragraph reads:

> American institutions and American civilization are in greater danger today than at any time since the foundation of the republic. . . . The people must determine whether we are to remain a democracy, or to substitute the domination of an all-powerful central government.

Administration policies assailed by the Republicans at Chicago include the following: reckless government expenditures, which are seen as heading the country to unlimited inflation, with the disintegration of the accumulated savings of the thrifty; the alleged attempt of a small group in Washington "covertly to alter the framework of American institutions"; the substitution of government control of agriculture, production and all business activity for individual initiative; the movement to make the emergency controls part of the permanent form of government, and the threat to government credit, and the integrity of the monetary system which, as the G.O.P. sees them, must be the inevitable results of the administration's spending policies.

Politically, this declaration is of high importance, for it foreshadows the injection of the New Deal as one of the big issues, perhaps the paramount issue, in this year's congressional campaign, and the national campaign of 1936. President Roosevelt has more than once said that the American people cannot turn back, and in one of his last messages he told Congress that it was "childish" to say that recovery should be given precedence over reform. In his address to the Yale alumni at New Haven, he again praised the Brain Trust, and defended the policy of experimentation. As a result of the Republican challenge, the voters of America will be offered a choice between a planned and regimented economy, and one that places paramount stress on individual initiative, and the maintenance of free competition—not an "economic system based upon bureaucratic control and government management."

As they thunder against government bureaucracy and the aggrandizement of authority in Washington, as they denounce huge federal expenditures, and the alleged changes in the form of the American government, as they assail the experimentation and reforms of the Brain Trust, the Republicans have yet to show, in any convincing way, that they have given proper consideration to one of the fundamentals in the situation. When President Roosevelt took the oath of office in March, 1933, the economic disintegration of the United States—a country endowed with the richest natural resources of any in the world—had gone so far that a continuation of the decline might have carried the country over the precipice, with the breakdown of all established values, and the complete cessation of the activities on which the economic life of the nation depends. The unemployed were a huge and growing army, millions of others were in daily fear of losing their jobs, and certain weaknesses in our economic system were glaringly apparent. The Democrats were given a recovery mandate.

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As President Roosevelt and his advisers interpret this mandate, reform is a necessary part of lasting recovery, and much of their program aims to prevent a recurrence of the evils which descended on the country when the decline of 1929 set in—notably unemployment and insecurity. The reforms of the New Deal, in theory if not in fact, therefore, are addressed to finding a cure for the weakness of the old order: they aim to curb speculation and substitute for ruthless and reckless competition a system that has a higher regard for human values. And a large part of the expenditures, which the G.O.P. so sharply assails, are being made for the relief of human want and misery. What the Republicans have yet to achieve in any final way, is an alternative program that carries reasonable safeguards against a return of the old abuses.

This program may take shape later. Meanwhile, the Republicans have tacitly recognized their sins of omission when in the Chicago declaration of policy, the national committee said:

> Our nation is beset with problems of infinite complexity—the problems of recovery, of unemployment with its unending tale of human suffering; of agriculture with its lost markets and relatively low prices; of forever checking abuses and excesses that have become all to apparent, and therefore the problems of a wider spread of prosperity, of relieving the hardships of unemployment and old age, and of avoiding these tragic depressions. These problems must be approached in a broad, liberal and progressive spirit, unhampered by dead formulas, or too obstinately clinging to the past. Our country has been backward in legislation dealing with social questions. We welcome the recognition that these questions demand attention by government.

The Republicans were in control of the national government from 1921 to 1933, and if the country has been backward in dealing with social questions, it has been due to the failure of the G.O.P. to see that the evolution of industry, and the coming of the machine age had brought new responsibilities to the federal government—responsibilities which were practically non-existent during the many decades when the energies of the American people were directed toward conquering a continent. This is a highly significant admission for it seems to mean that henceforth the G.O.P. will devote far more attention to social problems. Those permanently unemployed, due to the displacement of human labor by the machine, are one of the social problems with which both major parties must be prepared hereafter to deal.

President Roosevelt has charted a course which is making the Democratic party a "liberal" party, one dedicated to experimentation and reform, one that seeks a greater equalization of wealth, and one that places less emphasis on property rights, and more on human values. The legislation which his administration has already sponsored—the control of industry, regulation of security exchanges, and its huge direct relief expenditures—carries the Democratic party on the road to liberalism. And the ambitious program for social legislation outlined in his message to Congress early in June—security of home, security of job and security for old age—promises to carry it still further in that direction. Liberalism implies conservatism as a counterweight—a resistance to too rapid changes, a clinging to established values and institutions, and a resolute defense of property. Progress, in the past, has usually been the result of the clash between these two forces, a compromise between those who seek to change the established order and those who want things to remain pretty much as they are. The New Deal "revolution" places the Republicans necessarily in a conservative rôle, and for the first time the Republicans and Democrats face each other over a fence that hews pretty close to the general line that separates conservatives from liberals. This is a logical division, removing as it does the confusion and inconsistencies that have existed in the past in the principles for which the two parties supposedly have stood.

And conservatism, at this moment, has a much needed service to render. In times of economic stress and strain, historical perspective is easily lost, and there is a tendency to raze well-constructed buildings, in good repair, as well as to demolish those with leaking roofs and sagging foundations. Washington today is full of dreamers, reformers, destroyers, levelers and what not. Surrendering for a period much of its legislative prerogative, Congress has clothed the executive with an authority over industry, agriculture, and business, which, in magnitude, has no parallel in peace time. It has also given to the executive the spending of many billions of dollars of public funds. An excess of zeal may lead to an abuse in the exercise of these vast powers. Hence the importance of perspective. That appraisal of values can only come from intelligent conservatives, men and women who will insist on a searching analysis of new proposals, and the rejection of those that are demonstrably unsound, whether in the light of past experience, or the best contemporary judgment. As a conservative party, exercising a wholesome restraint over the enthusiasts and extremists who would cut off the ship of state completely from its ancient mooring, and as a check against the exercise of an arbitrary authority by those who hide behind the banner of a false liberalism, the Republicans can render a valuable service.

And the Republicans can do something else, quite as important: they can provide an effective check on the party in power. Every observer in Washington knows that during the Seventy-third

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Congress, measures of fundamental importance, both as to principle and the expenditures of money involved, have been rushed through the legislative mill, without adequate consideration—often under a gag rule that permitted only an hour or so of debate. Such partial abdication by the legislature of its authority to weigh, appraise and inquire into proposals submitted by the executive is desirable only in time of emergency. The minority should subject to close and searching scrutiny legislation proposed by the majority, its expenditures, and its administration of the executive departments of the government. Up to date, so swift has been the pace, so swift the succession with which Congress has been presented with the various legislative items in its program, that there has been no real analysis of the New Deal legislation, of the broader social and economic implications of many of its policies, no audit of the work of its administrators. A rehabilitated Republican party, therefore, one numerically better represented on Capitol Hill than it was during the Seventy-third Congress, is greatly to be desired by all who believe in the essential soundness of the two-party system as the system which in the long run, gives the people the best government.

As the Republican party comes to life again, those in charge of its affairs seem ready to respond to the challenge of the social and other questions of the day. That should mean the acceptance of those parts of the New Deal that demonstrate their value by the pragmatic test. Too long has the Republican party of Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt been identified exclusively in the popular mind with so-called "big business." Though its position on social questions has yet to be specifically defined, the Republicans have raised their voices to remind the country of the virtues of individual initiative, and to remind it also in language that might have come from Thomas Jefferson, that states, cities and local communities, as well as the individual have certain responsibilities. Here it preaches sound political gospel. The New Deal has brought with it a trek to Washington, and a tendency to dump local responsibilities on the federal government, that may result in a weakening of moral fiber. As the list of alphabetic agencies grows, as federal bureaucracy extends in scope and personnel, as the habit of federal spending becomes stronger, the rejuvenation of the Republican party is to be welcomed as providing the New Deal with needed ballast.

REPORTERS RALLY

By STUART D. GOULDING

ONE OF the phenomena of the New Deal is the trend of American newspapermen toward organization. Highly individualistic, as a group disdainful of mere monetary gain, sceptical of popular movements, proud of a calling which they have elevated to a profession, any combination for mutual interest two years ago would have been considered Quixotic, impossible. Today it is almost an accomplished fact as, city by city, the members of the Fourth Estate swing into line with the American Newspaper Guild. In the short space of nine months the organization has spread to include nearly one hundred locals plus their auxiliary units, while the influence of the national controlling body has made itself felt in publishing circles.

The growth of the guild from one unit in New York City has been sensational. A year ago the guild and the movement it represents were nonexistent. Today it dominates every topic of conversation in the majority of newspaper city rooms. Welcomed by a few publishers, regarded with disfavor by more, opposed openly by a number, the guild is becoming a potent force in the newspaper world. As yet it has not reached its majority, nor has it faced a serious crisis in its relations with the publishers. The test of its strength is still to come and this test and its outcome may have far-reaching results both inside and outside of the newspaper profession. For in effect the American Newspaper Guild represents the first major step toward trade-unionism of any large group of so-called white-collar workers in the United States.

The guild, to be sure, has been careful to avoid the label of trade-unionism; nevertheless there are certain resemblances in its basic structure which invite comparison. Its avowed and actual purposes are to improve the condition of the editorial worker by securing for him a living wage, reasonable working hours and improved working conditions, and to improve standards of journalism. On the strength of the latter purpose is based its contention that it is a guild rather than a union. Nevertheless collective bargaining is one of the cardinal principles of the guild while affiliation with the American Federation of Labor is possible, probably desirable.

This first break in the white-collar ranks and the phenomenal growth of the movement represents a sharp departure from tradition on the part of the newspaperman. In the earliest of newspapers the line between the editorial worker and the printer was fictional rather than actual.

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As newspapers grew, of course, separation of work was necessary. In time the printers and the other groups engaged in the mechanical production of newspapers went into trade-unionism; the editorial men continued on the old basis, each man bargaining for himself, accepting oftener than not what working conditions he found on the job. Not only reporters, but editors, sub-editors, feature writers, rewrite men, copy-desk men, photographers, have been drawn closely together in newspaper offices, setting themselves apart from employees of the business and mechanical "sides," establishing an *esprit de corps* of their own. They have regarded themselves as "the" newspaper, and in their minds all of the other departments have existed for the purpose of getting out the news.

This peculiar slant of newspapermen finds its inception in a theory of publishing current in the middle decades of the last century. Then dailies were emerging from the country weekly stage to become the great powers they were and are. Often the editor was also the publisher and his principal interest, and the interest of the men who worked with him, was in securing and publishing news. Such men as Dana, Greeley, Pulitzer and the second Samuel Bowles ran their papers from the editorial offices. They were hard men in a hard school and their ideals of how newspapers should be published and for what purpose were so thoroughly ingrained in editorial men that they never have been wholly lost.

The turn of the century, however, saw newspapers absorbed by big business. As the titans of the old newspaper world passed, control passed from the editorial rooms to the business office. There it remains. Today the primary purpose of any large newspaper (there are a few exceptions) is profit first. Editorial men schooled in the Greeley tradition and their successors have been slow to grasp this fact. Reluctant to accept such pragmatic doctrine, they have held to the ideal that news is the primary purpose of the newspaper. They have fought a losing battle but few even today, when all are faced with inexorable facts, will admit any other purpose for a newspaper. Newspapermen are today and have been for twenty years idealists tilting at windmills. They have attempted to create a world of spirit, but the windmills have proven windmills and not romantic giants. The cost of his idealism has been terrific and often tragic to the newspaperman. The business office with its counting-house spirit has taken advantage of him at every step. News has been the ideal in the editorial room, circulation and advertising have been the ideals in the business office. Economy, a term foreign in meaning to most newspapermen, has been the ideal in the publisher's office.

In the past, sporadic and short-lived attempts at organization have been made by newspapermen aware of their true position. These have always failed, partly because they have been localized and partly because the leaders have been summarily dismissed. Their individualism in the past has caused newspapermen to regard organization as unnecessary, even degrading. They have paid dearly for such opinions.

Today surveys are being made by newspaper guilds throughout the country as to the wages paid members. One Midwestern newspaper reports the average salary in its plant to be $29.02. This breaks down as follows: five editors, $37.60; three desk men, $27.73; three desk-reporters (rewrite men), $17.37; seven reporters, $26.94; one camera man, $34. The number of four-year college men in this plant is seven. Some of them have families.

On metropolitan newspapers the situation is hardly better. Here editorial men break up into two classes, the well-paid, the poorly paid. The well-paid, including executives, heads of departments, special writers, may be paid what men in corresponding positions in the business world are paid. Some columnists are in the $25,000 a year class. But the rank and file of newspapermen even in metropolitan circles receive under $2,500 a year, while the majority of leg men work for $25 a week and under.

In the smaller cities the differences in salary are less marked; all are poorly paid. Many reporters, regularly employed, receive less than $20 a week. In determining salaries under present conditions, age, experience and years in an office play a minor part; salary depends partly on favoritism, partly on what the individual can obtain by his own salesmanship. There is no scale.

In all but few plants printers, linotype operators, stereotypers, pressmen and engravers, all of whom are unionized, receive higher wages, work fewer hours, have better working conditions. Yet editorial workers in general professionally are on a par with teachers, while most of them, in specific and general knowledge, excel the run of business men and are, of course, intellectually superior to the better-paid union workers.

The fault lies partly with newspapermen who in the past have refused to organize and partly with the business office which has taken advantage of them at every step. Until the NRA came into existence, the average work day of the editorial employee was eight hours. Yet few newspapermen worked less than ten, while often they worked twelve and more hours daily. In times of emergency, when stories of great importance have "broken," it has not been unusual for editorial men to remain on the job day in and day out for two and three weeks, eating where they might and sleeping on desks and cots in the office. No demand has been too great for them and no de-

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mand has been too great for the business office to make. Especially since the depression newspapermen have doubled their work, reporters frequently covering two beats, inside men often doing feature and Sunday work in addition to their own, all without extra compensation.

Nor have newspapermen been spared wage cuts. The figures quoted above represent today's salaries, the cuts representing in many instances 33 1/3 percent. Finally, while many newspapers are housed in modern buildings, many more occupy old, unsanitary quarters irregularly heated, inadequately ventilated, poorly lighted.

One of the privileges of their craft allows newspapermen entry into every circle of life in their respective cities, with the result that they are to be found in every stratum of society, from the "best circles" to the underworld, in their search for news. As professional men they are expected to maintain a certain dignity, a certain outward appearance of well-being. Under present working conditions this is almost impossible. Debt-ridden for the most part, their economic status has been little above those accepting public charity through relief channels. Especially during the past three years the morale of the newspaperman has descended almost to the breaking-point.

In the past the answer of the business office to requests for raises has been, "If you don't like it here, get out." Once newspapermen, like journeymen printers, could go from city to city and, hanging up their hats in practically any newspaper office, go to work merely by announcing they were reporters or desk men. Those days passed before the depression. Newspapermen no longer shift with the tide from city to city. Some take the business office literally and seek other lines of work. But there is something impelling and compelling about newspaper work. Printers' ink gets into the blood and remains there. Newspapermen are lost outside of their own lines of work.

Last year the NRA gave assurances to all workers that they would be protected in their efforts to organize and to seek to better themselves through collective bargaining. On that assurance the guild movement was started. Despite the condition of newspapermen, the movement grew slowly at first; its real impetus has come since the promulgation of the newspaper code, which offers nothing to editorial workers and which has crystallized sentiment among thousands of newspaper employees for organization. In the beginning the guild movement met first with the traditional apathy of editorial men toward organization. Then it met the implied and sometimes expressed opposition of the publishers. It nevertheless persisted, individuals in the units pushing and guiding it.

Today its organization resembles trade-union organization. Guilds are divided into units for each newspaper. The unit dues are sent to the guild and part of these dues go to support the national guild, which, in the final analysis, is expected to bargain collectively for all guilds. At present both national and local guilds are groping. They are seeking to determine what are proper wages for editorial workers, what are proper hours and what are proper working conditions. They are moving slowly, working, where possible, with employers.

Indeed, from the beginning the guild movement has sought to maintain and even improve relations with the publishers. The effort to improve journalistic standards has not been mere phrasing. The guild, with greater clarity than most publishers, has realized that men cannot do their best work, give their best effort, if they are financially beset, if they must take outside work to keep alive, if they feel downtrodden, in fear for their jobs, unkempt.

In a few instances they have met ready assistance from publishers. At no time have the guilds shown anything but willingness to cooperate with publishers. There has been no strike talk, either officially from the guilds or unofficially from the guild members. The newspapermen have confidence in the ultimate reasonableness of the publishers, and they have growing faith in the power of their guild to effect better conditions for them. On the whole they have entered the guild movement reluctantly as a last resort, preferring to do their own work and do it well, without recourse to extreme measures. But they have entered the guild deliberately with full intent to secure what are reasonable and just adjustments of their working conditions, and from present indications there is every evidence that they will continue to grow in force.

The guild movement among newspapermen is being carried on in an intelligent, forceful manner. It is being watched from without by white-collar workers throughout the business world. It is the first important organization movement outside the industrial groups, and its success or failure will indicate whether the New Deal has actually arrived for the white-collar worker or whether it is merely another myth.

Noon

I, too, have heard the self's slow stir,
Autonomous,
Alone, as on the stair,
At time of Angelus,

Halting, the worshipers repeat
An exorcism;
The angled clock's repute
Conjured with chrism.

J. V. CUNNINGHAM.

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SEVEN DAYS' SURVEY

The Church.—The Catholic population of India increased 132.7 percent during the past fifty years, while the total population rose 39 percent. In 1881 there were 1,411,000 Catholics out of 253,896,000 Indians, and in 1931, 3,283,000 out of 352,985,000. * * * On June 16 the Right Reverend Monsignor John A. Ryan, director of the Department of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Conference, accepted membership on the Industrial Appeals Board of the NRA. The new board will hear complaints on the action of the NRA or any of the codes under it. It is particularly designed to protect small businesses. * * * The Third Exhibition of Japanese Christian Art was held in Tokyo during May and included paintings depicting episodes in the history of the Church in Japan together with subjects universal to the Catholic Church. * * * Bernard S. Brady, grand knight of Gilmour Council, Knights of Columbus, in Cleveland, recently announced a tentative plan for a national Catholic daily newspaper. * * * When Bishop Leven of Ndona-Ende, Little Sunda Islands, Dutch East Indies, returned from his consecration in Holland, Rajah Pius Rassi Wangge, a local Catholic chief, housed and fed 5,000 natives gathered for a two-day festival of welcome. Three Catholic Rajahs and the Mohammedan Rajah of Ende were present for the ceremonies. Last year in the Vicariate of the Little Sunda Islands, a strongly Moslem country, 10,000 persons were converted to the Church. * * * During the "Grand Pardon of Chaumont," which takes place in Chaumont, France, whenever the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist occurs on a Sunday, a plenary indulgence is accorded to those who, under given conditions, visit the Church of St. John. This year 98,000 pilgrims, led by His Eminence Achille Cardinal Lienart, Bishop of Lille, visited the church. Chaumont in Champagne, General Pershing's headquarters during the war, has a population of about 10,000.

The Nation.—A semi-comic contest over who was governor of North Dakota was showing signs of growing to dangerous proportions as Governor William Langer sought to employ the National Guard to prevent his being ousted by an order of the State Supreme Court, while Lieutenant Governor Olsen was apparently establishing his claim of being legally the head of the state government and securing the support of the troops. Political passions were running high. Governor Langer was convicted June 7 on a federal charge of conspiring to solicit political contributions from government workers and sentenced to eighteen months in prison and payment of a $10,000 fine. He appealed the conviction and on June 27 won an overwhelming victory in the primaries for renomination on the Republican ticket. * * * The General Electric Company announced that sales for the first half of this year had increased 31 percent over the corresponding period last year, total billings amounting to $80,983,094 compared to $61,773,414 last year. Profit available for the common stock for the six months was $8,175,557 compared with $4,666,081. * * * Tammany Hall unanimously elected a new leader, James J. Dooling, who is in favor of the New York State and national administrations. * * * A National Power Policy Committee under the chairmanship of Secretary of the Interior Ickes was appointed by the President to help in reducing electricity rates and to suggest laws on holding companies after extensive studies of the subjects. * * * Publicly announced philanthropic gifts, exclusive of drives for private contributions for religious and welfare institutions, for the first six months of the present year increased approximately 44 percent over the same period in 1933, according to a survey made in six large American cities: $19,868,975 compared with $13,747,320. * * * Marriages had increased 4.3 percent over last year, an insurance company announced, while the Census Bureau reported that the 1933 birth rate of 16.4 per 1,000 was the lowest since its registrations began, and the infant mortality rate of 58.2 per 1,000 live births compared unfavorably with 57.6 in 1932.

The Wide World.—Having reorganized the Austrian Cabinet, Chancellor Dolfuss personally undertook supervision of defense activities. These concern in the first instance bomb-throwing Nazis whose little game has brought terror and consternation to various parts of the country. The death penalty has been decreed for illegal possession of explosives. * * * France, Great Britain and Italy have assented to the "Eastern Locarno" plan devised, apparently, as a consequence of M. Barthou's trip to London. Press dispatches indicate that Mussolini's endorsement will be contingent upon Germany's acceptance of the plan. Indications were that Berlin would reply in the negative, and that the Poles likewise are not reconciled to the idea. * * * German response to Chancellor Hitler's fire-eating "explanation" appears to have been listlessness and even dissatisfaction. At the University of Göttingen, nationalistic students refused to accept the domination of Hitlerite student groups. Catholic comment on the assassination of Dr. Erich Klausener was outspoken and bitter. * * * Rio de Janeiro reports that the forthcoming Brazilian "Reform Constitution" will legalize a "Brain Trust," decisions reached by which must be accepted by Cabinet members. Divorce is forbidden; church weddings are binding under civil law. The Constitution will also enact law making the forty-eight-hour week binding on agriculture and industry. * * * Controversy about the German moratorium continued, Secretary of State Cordell Hull dispatching to Berlin a note demanding equal rights for American investors. Meanwhile, however, the outlook grew no more encouraging, it being openly predicted that Dr. Schacht would persuade the government to accept his scheme for a 40 percent

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devaluation of the Reichsmark. A demand of the World Bank for control of German customs receipts was answered by German government sequestration of Young and Dawes Loan funds.

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Strike.—On July 15 three members of an independent longshoremen's union were shot dead in Texas. At eight o'clock on July 16 the general strike started in San Francisco. About 4,500 National Guardsmen with all weapons of war took up their positions. A committee of 500 "vigilantes" was organized by Mayor Rossi. This committee received the active support of the Junior Chamber of Commerce. Senator Wagner boarded an airplane for Portland to make a last-minute effort to avoid the spread of the general strike to that city. Minneapolis truckmen stopped work at midnight. On July 17, 13,500 Alabama textile workers struck; a walk-out of 18,000 knit workers was ordered; the militia moved into Minneapolis. "Private Detective" P. L. Bergoff of New York City was openly sending tough strikebreakers to the affected districts. The copper workers of Butte, Montana, striking since May 8, took up new activity. Inhabitants of the model village of Kohler, Wisconsin, picketed the model plant of Kohler of Kohler. The dollar fell in France. Father Haas was sent to Minneapolis to try to solve the fight there. General Johnson spoke in Berkeley about "bloody insurrection" and about throwing out agitators from unions. The Vandeleur conservative faction in the Bay region broke with the radicals led by the chairman of the joint marine strike committee, Harry Bridges, and got a resolution through the general strike committee calling upon the President to make both sides submit to the arbitration of the Archbishop Hanna longshoremen's board. Thomas G. Plant, leader of San Francisco employers, said there could be no arbitration until it was decided by vote who should represent the seamen. A vote would take about three months. San Francisco vigilantes, in some instances working with the police, broke up various Red headquarters, and the offices of various workers' organizations. The next day picket lines definitely loosened and General Johnson, the National Longshoremen's Board, and conservative labor leaders seemed to be approaching success in stopping the strike pending an undetermined kind of arbitration between undetermined parties. Business took steps to resume full operation. In Seattle, police fought off 1,200 striking maritime workers trying to reach non-union men unloading steamers.

Hitler's Address.—On July 13, Chancellor Hitler addressed the Reichstag concerning the disturbances of June 30. It was to be remembered, he said, that the acceptance of National-Socialism was not just an ordinary political change. Having found themselves in a state of chaos, the people of Germany "liquidated" the existing system of government. Therefore the achievements of National-Socialism must not be judged by comparing the situation now existing with the status of January, 1933, but solely by asking oneself what calamities would have overtaken the country if the previous political system had remained in power. Unfortunately not everybody will be reasonable. One group—the Communists—are pledged to "international conspiracy," and so oppose the "order" reigning in Germany; but the majority of citizens in the Third Reich have seen through "these Jewish-International benefactors of mankind." Other opponents are the displaced politicians of yore, those who love excitement and therewith revolution, and those who are too idle and empty-headed to be satisfied with things as they are. Unfortunately some undesirables had crept into the very ranks of the Nazis. The leader of these was Chief of Staff Roehm, who infected the Storm Troops with so many microbes of disloyalty that an insurrection was actually planned for the week-end of June 30. General Schleicher and his aides were involved, as was also a foreign diplomat. The revolt was crushed. "Divisions which engage in mutiny have at all times been corrected by decimation." Against the viewpoint that the offenders should have been tried by due process of law, the Chancellor entered a "solemn protest." Promising to shoot big and little offenders alike, he added that although the Reichswehr would not be changed, the Storm Troops would soon be in uniform again.

The Legion of Decency.—Hollywood submitted more or less gracefully to a barrage of critical pronouncements. The pastoral letter issued by His Eminence Patrick Cardinal Hayes advised the mothers of the land to protect the children against the influence of the "depraved motion picture" with the same care expended on warding off disease. His Eminence added: "Reform, restriction and suppression that would deprive the people of legitimate pleasure are not in contemplation. What is to be condemned as reprehensible—and justly so—is the glorification of crime, lust and, in general, the serious violation of the law of God and man in things sacred to home and society." The same attitude was expressed in an article written by the Reverend Wilfrid Parsons, S. J., editor of *America.* Pastoral letters by the Bishops of Hartford, Syracuse, El Paso, Little Rock, Sacramento and Savannah vigorously invited Catholics of these dioceses to join the crusade against what the Most Reverend John B. Morris, Bishop of Little Rock, termed "a horrible evil." Many groups of Protestants joined the movement, and Jewish associations—as is noted elsewhere in this issue—took steps to endorse the fight for moral improvement. The World Service Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church voiced its approval. Pulpits everywhere rang with denunciation and comment, though there were some few dissenting voices. Preaching in New York, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick declared that the campaign was "a deep-seated revulsion against the insult to the whole country involved in the output of filth and criminality from Hollywood." Meanwhile the motion picture distributor agreed to modify the "block-booking" system, so that a theatre owner would be released from the obligation of showing a picture objectionable to his community. This modification applies to pictures released prior to July 15, it being understood that on that date the Production Code Administration will function, placing re-

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sponsibility for future productions on the Board of Directors of the Film Producers' Association.

Brazil Goes Constitutional.—Brazil, the largest Latin nation in the world, in area about 259,384 square miles bigger than continental United States excluding Alaska, and with an estimated population of 45,000,000, which is 99 percent Catholic and growing at the rate of 1,000,000 a year, returned July 16 to a constitutional form of government. The following day the Constituent Assembly elected Provisional President Getulio Vargas as first president under the new basic law. In October, 1930, after a short and successful revolution during which the United States made the error of giving mild support to his opponents, President Washington Luiz and the gauchos of Sao Paulo, Dr. Vargas became dictator. In 1932, in order to maintain his position, he fought the southern Brazilian states in the most sanguinary civil war in the Americas since our North fought the South. In this last election President Vargas was again opposed by the delegation from Sao Paulo and also by certain labor leaders who accused him of being too capitalistic. The Constitution embodies a New Deal, with provisions for a maximum work week of six days and a maximum work day of eight hours. A Senate with two members from each state is charged with guarding the Constitution and coordinating the entire government.

The Campaign against God.—A book newly published by the official publishing firm of the Soviet government outlines the results of the last five years of godless campaigning. The author, F. Olestschuk, summarizes: "We haven't succeeded in eradicating God from the Russian soul. The reactionary ecclesiastical elements are making tremendous headway. Religion is making progress. Godlessness is losing ground. It can no longer be denied that in many places new church congregations have been formed. And it is a fact that the attendance in the churches is increasing in number all the time." The author says that in 90 percent of the homes of Communist farmers holy pictures are still to be found and that the people continue to say their prayers. Other reports tell that Christian "catacombs" have been discovered by the secret Russian police in various cities of the country. Arrests and the closing of churches nevertheless continue. In the Ukraine and White Russia, 46 more churches have been closed by the authorities, and Bishop Orjelamwrose of the Orthodox Church has been arrested, and sentenced to six years in jail and banishment to Siberia.

Cost of Living.—During the first six months of this year, the cost of living in the United States for families of wage earners and lower-salaried workers increased only 1 percent, according to the index of the Department of Labor. This index is based on the average of the year 1913 as 100, and in the past six months stood at 136.4, compared with 135 for December, 1933. The cost of food increased 2.7 percent, clothing increased 2.1 percent, house-furnishing goods increased 1.8 percent, while rent showed a decrease of 1.7 percent and fuel and light fell 2.1 percent. A miscellaneous item of the average family budget which includes medical and dental services, drugs, hospital rates, laundry, transportation and tobacco, showed no change. Compared to the first six months of 1928, the living costs for June this year were on the average 20.2 percent less. On this basis, rent showed the largest decrease, 35.6 percent for the country as a whole, ranging from a 57-percent decrease in Birmingham, Alabama, to 14.7 percent in Washington, D. C. Food had declined an average of 29.7 percent, house furnishings 17.3 percent, clothing 16.2 percent, fuel and light 13.4 percent, and miscellaneous items, 4.6 percent.

* * * *

P.W.A. Expands.—The original P.W.A. fund of $3,300,000,000 together with $400,000,000 allocated to it under the last Deficiency Act has given out, all of it being now allotted to various public and semi-public projects. Real expenditure of the fund, in material and wages employed on construction sites, is running over $30,000,000 a week. There are about 600,000 men working directly on P.W.A. sites, and 1,200,000 more are employed indirectly in the manufacture and transportation of materials used. The Department of Agriculture has a further 272,367 men at work on federal aid projects financed by P.W.A. funds; the War Department, 73,748; the Navy, 15,728; Interior, 28,933; and the other departments, 16,827. All these are working only on federal projects, and there are 126,500 men reported at direct labor on non-federal P.W.A. jobs. Public Works funds are also financing 16,600 men working on relief highways, 9,086 in the Tennessee Valley, and 307,294 in the Civilian Conservation Corps. Secretary Ickes, Public Works Administrator, is trying to arrange a grant of money from the R.F.C. in return for state and municipal securities held by the P.W.A. as collateral for loans, so that he may continue the work still further.

Starvation in Russia.—An appalling number of deaths by starvation in Russia is reported by the Interconfessional and International Aid Committee for the Starvation Districts in Soviet Russia. They estimate that in 1933, not less than 5,000,000 and according to some reports as many as 8,000,000 or 10,000,000 died from lack of food in Soviet Russia. Harry Lang, correspondent of the *Jewish Forward* of New York, is quoted as stating after a visit to the districts of White Russia and the Ukraine, that 40 percent of the population including a great percentage of Jews in those two districts alone, had died of starvation. According to information of the German branch of the Aid Committee, out of the small German minority in Soviet Russia of less than 1,000,000 persons in the Ukraine and Volga districts, 140,000 have recently starved to death. Mr. Chamberlain, for many years Moscow correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor,* is one of those who on the basis of information from local officials of the Communist party, has estimated the famine victims in Russia to be at least 5,000,000. The action of the Russian government in May of increasing the price of bread 100 percent is said to presage more deaths.

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MOVIES AND MORALS

By RICHARD DANA SKINNER

THE MOVEMENT known as the Legion for Decency comes with all the more impact because of the great patience shown by the Church authorities in the past, and because of the moderation and sense of proportion shown by the leaders even under present provocation. What too few people realize, however, is the difficulty of the task ahead in making the Hollywood authorities understand just what Catholics mean by decency, and to make the public understand the point as well.

During ten years or more of criticizing plays from the viewpoint of a Catholic layman, I have necessarily had to formulate certain general standards (aside from purely dramatic standards) for comment on the moral implications of the plays themselves. For the possible interest it might have under present acute conditions on the screen, I am endeavoring to set down a brief outline of these general ideas.

First comes the theme of a play. Every well-constructed play can be summarized in a question and an answer concerning the leading character. We ought to be able to say that a certain play "is about a person who is faced with this or that problem and does this or that about it." Even a comedy dilemma can be summarized this way. Now, if the leading character meets his or her problem by doing something immoral (from the Catholic view of morality, of course), and especially if the author deliberately creates sympathy for both the character and the decision, then the play itself so far as Catholics are concerned has a distinctly immoral theme. A decision to divorce and remarry would be a case in point, or to run away from clear duties and responsibilities, or to murder another inconvenient character, or to leave a wife for a mistress.

It is the answer given, rather than the problem presented, that constitutes the morality of the theme as such. If it were not for this, very few real dilemmas of life could be presented at all, and no stories of repentance following wrongdoing. In cases where the decision itself is immoral, the playwright may still have a moral theme if he creates dislike instead of sympathy for the leading character, and shows how the false decision leads to tragedy and retribution. A case in point is Macbeth.

Next comes the plot of the play and the detailed treatment. A perfectly moral theme may be utterly ruined by excessive dwelling on pornographic or brutal detail. Taste and proportion here come into play as well as clear-cut morality. The life of a married couple could be so portrayed as to leave the net impression of indecency, although their situation would be entirely moral. We have had modern "morality" plays that spent most of their time detailing the many forms of vice with photographic exactness. On the other hand, the immoral situation of the young couple in last winter's "The Wind and the Rain" was handled with so much external decency and reticence of speech and action that many who saw the play utterly failed to grasp what the real situation was. Glamorous emphasis on gangsters and women of easy morals—which is one of the many ways of creating sympathy—can wholly alter the effect of a theoretically moral theme of crime and punishment. We might include in plot and treatment the use of titles with double meanings or titles which are misleading as to the theme itself. "The Dover Road," for example, was changed for screen purposes to "When Sinners Meet" in spite of the fact that the real theme was "When Sinners Part." The leading characters decided to give up their immoral intentions and return to a decent life.

The third point centers around dialogue, and is really a subdivision of plot and treatment. The screen, on the whole, has been freer than the stage of offensive dialogue, but that might easily be a temporary situation only. The difference between dialogue that is merely offensive to the ears or to current taste in the use of words, and dialogue that is blasphemous or lewd, is very important. Many people on grounds of current taste would object to Shakespearean dialogue if used by any modern author. They accept forthright "old English" expressions easily enough from a classic author, but raise a rumpus when the same words are used by lesser lights. But poor taste is not of itself a badge of immorality or indecency. It may even have the much overdone excuse of realism and characterization. But the blasphemous use of the name of God or Christ is quite another matter, above all when used solely for sensational effect. And so is the use of smutty dialogue quite another matter. Sly jokes about sexual perversions, or jokes about more normal sex matters, when deliberately calculated for box-office results or to evoke images, are as unnecessary as they are indecent. I have never yet seen the play—except a deliberately "sexy" farce comedy—where such lines even tied in with the action of the play. They are just so much sticky coating.

In summary, then, could we not distinguish somewhat as follows between bad plays: those with "immoral theme"; those with "immoral or indecent treatment of (a) a moral theme or (b) an immoral theme"; and those with only certain objectionable features such as "blasphemous or indecent dialogue" or "too much photographic realism"? In giving our reasons more specifically, we would be going far to remove all possible misunderstanding or the charge of prudishness.

The real danger in the present situation lies in the potential inability of screen critics to agree upon standards of moral criticism. It is this which lends real importance to some such distinctions as those outlined above. The controversy over de Mille's "Sign of the Cross" illustrated this very difficulty most clearly. The theme was obviously moral, but the detailed treatment of pagan orgies, including vices of perversion, rendered the production as a whole repugnant. Yet many worthy observers were so impressed by the main theme that they were able to ignore the serious violation of decency in treatment. Nothing would so weaken the whole effectiveness of the Legion for Decency as an internal disagreement on fair and just standards of criticism.

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COMMUNICATIONS

A CATHOLIC DAILY

Baltimore, Md.

TO the Editor: The Catholics of the United States will finally awaken to the need of a Catholic daily, if the daily press continues to abuse the confidence of its readers by distorted and prejudiced accounts of foreign events from the pen of special correspondents.

The sole purpose of the newspaper is the publication of news. That the average newspaper belies its name is evident from past and present experiences in regard to Russia, Mexico and Spain, Germany and Austria, in fine, in every sphere of vital interest to Catholics. The obvious conclusion is: "Why buy such papers?" It is news we want, and news they do not supply. It is truth we want, and truth they distort. A proponent of atheistic Marxism furnishes colored reports about Russia; a defender of anti-Christian Socialism pours out envenomed diatribes against Austria; an advocate of thwarted anti-clericalism presents unfair and puerile accounts of Spain. Contrast the sudden interest of the press in German Catholicism, and its obstinate silence in regard to the Mexican persecution, its present indignation against the Jew-baiting Nazi, and its past apathy in regard to the Christ-hating Bolsheviki, or its horror of Hitler and its sympathy for Stalin.

How long will Catholics, and even non-Catholics, be so foolish as to continue to support a press which presents news through channels such as these special correspondents? Yes, let Catholic Action learn from Jewish Action and boycott the purveyors of false news, but let them go a step further and support their own press and thus hasten the birth of a Catholic daily. The financial sacrifice required may be great, but the danger of a poisoned press is greater. The initial outlay, howsoever large, will be amply repaid both morally and financially. Morally, for through the power of the press Catholic social and moral principles will be disseminated throughout the nation, the campaign against obscenity on news-stand, stage and screen, and the defense of the home against governmental paternalism, divorce and birth control will find an ever-vigilant and uncompromising champion. Financially, too, for the sooner the voice of organized Catholicism is raised in protest, the sooner the unjust burden of double and even triple taxation in education will be lifted from the backs of too subservient Catholics.

In vain will we look for a just presentation of our claims, in vain will we hope for a sympathetic, not to mention a just, enunciation of our principles, unless as the militant Catholics of other countries we arm ourselves with the power of the daily press and force a hearing.

CATHOLICUS.

Chicago, Ill.

TO the Editor: I believe the time is ripe for the start of a Catholic daily. I do not know what the situation is in other cities, although I think the eastern metropolitan dailies are fairer to the new administration than are the papers here in the Middle West. But the Chicago *Tribune* and the *Daily News* are fighting the current administration by every propaganda means in their power. It is too much to ask people to cease purchasing these sheets. The cartoons are interesting.

A Catholic daily with a format and character similar to that of the *Christian Science Monitor* would seem to be the solution, plus some cartoons in strips. The main editorial matter of unlive news interest could be plated and released to an Eastern, a Midwestern and a Western station. Local offices in each station to keep the news up to date via Associated Press, United Press and National Catholic Welfare Council services. I think Catholics have a grand chance to go on record in this way right now.

T. O'DONNELL.

A PLANNED THEATRE

Princeton, N. J.

TO the Editor: It is impossible not to endorse heartily Mr. William J. O'Neill's spirited article on "A Planned Theatre" in your issue of May 18. The idea is so good intrinsically and the temper of Mr. O'Neill's article gives an indication that those responsible for it fully realize the pitfalls that must be avoided in the carrying out of such a plan.

Anyone who has followed the excellent series of articles by Morton Eustis in the *Theatre Arts Monthly* on the business side of the theatre cannot fail to be impressed by the fantastic economic foundation on which rests the theatre as an institution in New York City. It is a simple fact that the theatre in New York City is important only to a very small part of its population, and if this is true in New York with its many playhouses, what is the relative importance of the theatre in other communities all over the country where an occasional wandering road company and the senior class play at the local high school afford the only relief from the vaudeville crooners and weight-balancing acts of the nearest movie theatre?

It seems to me that a theatre such as is proposed in New York will become a real part of community life there and Catholics elsewhere may be inspired to try the same sort of thing. Some may object that the theatre will become one for the dissemination of Catholic propaganda. But as the years go by, it will be shown that good drama can flourish today under the guidance of a group of intelligent Catholic laymen, just as centuries ago English drama grew to its maturity under the fostering wing of the Church.

A. MUNROE WADE.

RICHARD HENEBRY

Gambier, Ohio.

TO the Editor: I read with much interest Dean Healy's review in your issue of April 20, and am glad to know where I can find something about Dr. Henebry. I remember getting from Germany Dr. Henebry's dissertation, "The Phonology of the Desi Irish," and in feeling a certain pride, when he was appointed to the Catholic University in Washington, in having in this country a Celtic scholar who could speak with authority. I looked for important contributions from his pen. Could he have left MSS. that should be printed?

W. P. REEVES.

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BOOKS

A Survey of China

The Chinese, Their History and Culture, by Kenneth S. Latourette. New York: The Macmillan Company. Two volumes. $7.50.

THIS work is intended "to be a fairly full summary and interpretation of what is known about the Chinese" and "many fields which it attempts to cover lack the necessary spade work of specialized monographs" (page x). Concerning the first sentence, it would be ungenerous not to say that as far as interpretation is concerned it is much better than the usual book on China and its history. But, as regards the second sentence, and the "full summary," it may be remarked that the Cordier volumes on "Bibliotheca Sinica" and Nachod's "Bibliography of Japan" do throw light on the growing immensity of studies being made of the Far East.

On consulting the index in Volume II, it is surprising to find only one reference to the word "revolutions," seeing that the late Liang Chi Chao and Yu Tin Hu, editor of the *Chinese Journal of Sociology,* have both made somewhat intensive studies of Chinese revolutions and their effect on China and on the Chinese, even suggesting the causes of these movements. From Dr. Yu Tin Hu it is learned that between 221 B. C. and A. D. 1923, a period of 2,144 years, the Chinese had spent 869 years in revolutions or struggles for the control, if not occupation, of the throne. The words "insurrection" and "rebellion" are absent from the index. When a nation spends 40 percent of its time in revolutions, as this Chinese author relates, it seems that the social life and economic life might be somewhat disturbed. Perhaps it is that Mr. Latourette has been away too long from the Far East, so that even the existence of the continued revolution in China ceases to make an impression on his mind, commensurate with that which those who went through the period from 1920 to 1927 can recall: when trains left Peking for Tientsin, with western troops fully armed, but yet took thirty to forty hours on the trip, due to Chang Tso Lin fighting Wu Pei Fu. Indeed, many books pass over as negligible the ever-recurring civil war, banditry and kidnaping in China, though these are highly significant in the history of the country.

Mr. Latourette appears not to be acquainted with the unique work of Mr. E. T. C. Werner on "Chinese Sociology," still in this day one of the most useful books which has attempted an analysis of the sociological concepts and practises of the Chinese. Indeed, one would hesitate to say that this volume in reality exceeds in style or content the work of Dr. Payson Treat. But it does not fall into that absurd practise of printing either in extenso or by series, clauses of treaties and conventions made by China with western countries, and imagine that these form useful information for students. Indeed, few professors and authors have grasped the fact that nation and nation are not held together in peace or comfort by treaties, conventions and protocols, but rather by trade and common interests.

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Editor, The Catholic World.

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The United States must still wait for the outstanding work upon the Chinese—their character, their customs, their religious aspirations, their rebellions and the causes of the never-ending turbulence.

BOYD-CARPENTER.

Why No One Loves Us

Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States. Inter-American Affairs (1831-1860)*; edited by William R. Manning. Volumes III and IV. Central America. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. $5.00 per volume.*

PROBABLY as good a way as any to strengthen peace everywhere for the United States would be to publish, as Mr. Manning is doing, our correspondence with and about other countries (particularly our secret official correspondence)—and make all American Secretaries of State read it before qualifying for office.

If any North American should really wish to know why so many South Americans distrust us in spite of our sincerest public expressions of good-will; or if any should wish to know why everybody, north and south of the Rio Grande alike, believes firmly that the Monroe Doctrine is something which our statesmen declare on oath that it isn't, he may turn to volumes I and II of this same series and read there what we have done to our neighbors of the southern continent to produce that feeling.

It may be set down as an axiom of diplomacy that the United States cannot possibly disturb the peace of the world by anything we are likely to do in Europe. Our dangerous field of diplomacy is not there. Our dangerous fields are those where we may appear to attempt to impose our will. There are two such fields: in America, south of the Rio Grande; and in the Far East.

Even the lay searcher for those things by which we may endanger world peace would do well to study these four volumes of official correspondence, the first two concerning the Independence of South America and our ensuing first relations, and these present two, relating to the Union of Central America and its dissolution in the years 1831-1860. He might from that reading, understand the distorted growth in our minds of the sacred meaning of the Monroe Doctrine. If he followed that course of study by a further reading of President Harrison's message and report sent to the Senate in connection with the annexation of Hawaii and published in 1895, he would see the Monroe Doctrine, perhaps to his surprise, floating out into the Pacific Ocean, joined with what our untrained and accidental diplomats of the period wrote of as "Our Plan to Dominate the North Pacific." He would observe the impact of that sacred dual doctrine on a newly "westernized" Japan, and Japan's acceptance of it (after their first defeat by it) as a very good model for their own future use, which they have developed very consistently ever since. Americans do not read these things. South Americans and Japanese do. That may help to explain why we never understand when people do not love us as we think they should.

WILLIAM FRANKLIN SANDS.

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Self-imprisoned

Swift, or the Egoist, by Mario M. Rossi and Joseph M. Hone. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. $5.00.

THE BIOGRAPHERS of Berkeley, who suggest a hypothetical union of Jeffrey with Monypenny, have written the strangest and no doubt one of the most valuable of all monographs concerning Swift. At least one of them possesses an unusually burry and homespun mind. There are many pages of an odd, jerky and somewhat misanthropic philosophy of life; there is some excellent phrasing, of that effective Scottish kind which one meets so rarely in these days when the emphasis is all on metropolitanized cleverness. The introductory chapter is a good test of one's reading. Those with the right literary perspective will be agreeably reminded of high old times, but those modern enough really to like such writing as is to be found in Mr. Kantor's sloppy and pseudo-expressionistic "Long Remember" will be bored into a nervous breakdown.

That chapter presents a thesis and a theory of biography. Nothing short of the Swiftian essence will satisfy Messrs. Rossi and Hone, because they hold that a "life" must be an interpretation rather than a chronicle. It is to be a diagnosis, not a case-history. The Dean was the egotist incarnate. "Mankind feared him, for everything was sacrificed to this one object: liberty of saying what he chose—and of concealing what was deeply felt, and therefore might expose him to attacks." The whole book is a commentary on that sentence, a steady and laborious unraveling of the tangled skein of evidence concerning it.

The most interesting sections have to do with Swift's alleged madness and with his attitude toward love and marriage. Our authors hold that he suffered from some lesion in the neural centers which impaired his digestion and engendered deafness as well as fits of anxiety. The narrative of Stella and the rest is gone over with a fine comb, to such good effect that one finally thinks the problem as satisfactorily dealt with as is possible. Swift apparently dallied with love because it afforded him an exquisite sense of mastery, but the horse sometimes ran away with him in the manner customary since time immemorial. These are very interesting and very good, if not very edifying pages. Living with Swift is improving *à rebours* occasionally, never otherwise.

Elsewhere, too, the book is sometimes extraordinarily keen-witted. The chapter on Gulliver is something to which students of eighteenth-century letters will be referred during many years to come, if their teachers have any sense. But better still is the finale, entitled "The Rat in the Hole." We read: "It is perhaps mysticism, but we cannot help thinking that the egotist was attaining in this way to his ultimate fulfilment. Had he been mad, he might not have *been*. He would have gone completely out of humanity. Whereas he remained a man—alone. Terribly alone. . . . On the threshold of the chamber of the decaying solitary stands the old curse, *Vae soli.*" Yes, despite its quips and quirks, this is an extraordinarily intelligent and discerning book.

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Briefer Mention

Two Loves I Have, by Clara Longworth de Chambrun. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. $2.50.

THAT most of the obscure and unexplained incidents of Shakespeare's life were the result of the recusancy of his family, relatives and intimates (the author does not claim that Shakespeare himself was a Catholic) is the idea behind this novel. To prove the point, the circumstances surrounding the poet's marriage, his flight from Stratford, friendship with Southampton and connection with the Essex conspiracy are developed in the light of a long study of Shakespeare's life and works and the recent discoveries of Father Herbert Thurston, Professor Hotson and the author's own finds in the London Record Office. Despite this conscientious investigation, the book is written in lighter vein with an eye to the general reader. The romance of Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway, the incident of the "Dark Lady" and the dangers of connection with the Romish faith in the days of Good Queen Bess make colorful material which is much less familiar than one might imagine.

The Corduroy Trail, by Rita C. McGoldrick. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. $1.75.

THIS story with its romance of the elder sister and brother and adventures of the fourteen-year olds on a trip through the northern Wisconsin forest is definitely for young ladies and if we may venture into such occult matters, we would surmise that they would find it amply satisfying, full of thrills and bright familiar things, vistas into the unfamiliar and occasions for laughter. It was the *mise en scène* that we enjoyed most. The writer has an exceptional sensitiveness of observation and portrays what she has seen with all the delicate minutiae that make a completely transporting and convincing picture. This she does with swift, sure strokes and fine objectivity. The atmosphere of a solid, orderly and typically American home with its informality and spaciousness and ready friendliness, is also admirably presented. As an example of creating positive values, the book is all to the good and we hope that the author after this first successful venture will give us more such reflections of what the American scene can be at its best.

CONTRIBUTORS

CHARLES WILLIS THOMPSON is a veteran political correspondent for New York journals. His latest book is "President I've Known and Two Near Presidents."

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